

Message Text

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ACTION IO-06

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 37613

LIMDIS

NESCO

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: UNESCO, PROG, OCON
SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH UNESCO ADJ NAJMAN

1. IN PRIVATE MEETING BETWEEN NAJMAN AND PERM REP,
GENERAL UNESCO SITUATION WAS DISCUSSED. SUBSTANCE OF
CONVERSATION IS AS FOLLOWS:

A. NATIONAL COMMISSION RESOLUTION: NAJMAN SAID DG
WAS VERY DISAPPOINTED IN THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE
US NATIONAL COMMISSION. M'BOW FELT THE COMMISSION SHOULD
HAVE GIVEN FULL SUPPORT TO RESUMPTION OF US CONTRIBU-
TIONS RATHER THAN QUALIFIED LANGUAGE USED IN DECLARA-
TION. NAJMAN SAID M'BOW FEELS THAT NATIONAL COMMISSION
STILL DOES NOT FULLY UNDERSTAND THE EXTREME EFFORT THAT
M'BOW MADE AT THE GENERAL CONFERENCE AND PARTICULARLY
THE RISK THAT HE TOOK TO MODERATE RESOLUTIONS. M'BOW IS
NOW ENROUTE TO IVORY COAST AND NAJMAN SAID HE EXPECTED
THAT THE DG WOULD WRITE A PERSONAL LETTER TO THE CHAIR-
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MAN OF THE US NATIONAL COMMISSION EXPRESSING HIS
DISAPPOINTMENT. IN RESPONSE, PERM REP SAID THAT THE
NATIONAL COMMISSION RESOLUTION SHOULD BE VIEWED IN THE
SAME MANNER AS THE CONSENSUS RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE
GENERAL CONFERENCE AND THAT NAJMAN AND M'BOW SHOULD
RECOGNIZE THE DIFFICULTIES THAT WERE INVOLVED IN GETTING

A CONSENSUS. JUST AS AT NAIROBI, COMPROMISES HAD TO BE MADE TO ARRIVE AT A CONSENSUS AND THEY SHOULD APPRECIATE THE EFFORT AND DELICACY OF NEGOTIATIONS THAT WERE INVOLVED. WE ALSO SAID THAT M'BOW'S EFFORTS WERE WELL KNOWN AND GENUINELY APPRECIATED BOTH BY THE DEPARTMENT AND BY THE NATIONAL COMMISSION.

B. OCCUPIED TERRITORIES: NAJMAN SAID THAT ISRAEL MUST AGREE TO ACCEPT A TEAM BEFORE THE EXECUTIVE BOARD. HE SAID THAT A COMMUNICATION FROM M'BOW WILL SHORTLY BE SENT PROPOSING TO SEND THE UNESCO TEAM. IF THE GOI RESPONSE IS NEGATIVE, HE IS SURE THAT THERE WILL BE A MOVE FOR ANOTHER RESOLUTION AT THE SPRING EXBD. NAJMAN SAID THAT M'BOW IS NOT DISPOSED TO ACCEPT ANY FURTHER GOI EXCUSES AS TO WHY THE TEAM CANNOT GO. HE SAID THAT THE UNESCO COMMUNICATION WOULD PROBABLY SIMPLY MAKE REFERENCE TO PRIOR COMMUNICATIONS, PARTICULARLY THE GOI AGREEMENT TO ACCEPT THE TEAM, AND THAT HE DID NOT EXPECT TO MAKE ANY REFERENCE TO THE GENERAL CONF. RESOLUTION. NAJMAN SAID HE WAS CERTAIN THAT ANY UNESCO REPORT ON THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES WOULD BE FAVORABLE TO GOI AND WOULD SERVE TO PUT A LID ON FURTHER ARAB RESOLUTIONS. PERM REP RESPONDED BY RECALLING THAT THE RESOLUTION PASSED AT NAIROBI PRESENTED NEW PROBLEMS FOR GOI AND THAT INTERNAL CONDITIONS IN ISRAEL MIGHT MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO FOCUS ON UNESCO PROBLEMS AT THIS TIME. PERMREP URGED THAT UNESCO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO KEEP THE DOOR OPEN REGARDLESS OF WHAT THE GOI RESPONSE MIGHT BE AND FURTHER STRONGLY URGED THAT EVERY EFFORT BE MADE TO KEEP MIDDLE EAST ISSUES OFF OF CONFIDENTIAL

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THE AGENDA FOR THE EXBD, PARTICULARLY SINCE THE DATES OF THE MEETING WOULD LIKELY COINCIDE WITH CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS. PERMREP THEN TRACED FOR NAJMAN THE AUTHORIZATION AND APPROPRIATION PROCESS OF THE CONGRESS. HE SAID HE WAS FAMILIAR WITH IT.

C. JERUSALEM: NAJMAN EXPRESSED SATISFACTION THAT THERE HAD BEEN A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT THAT THE EXCAVATIONS WOULD BE HALTED. HE SAID THAT HAD THE ANNOUNCEMENT BEEN MADE PRIOR TO THE GEN. CONF. HE WAS SURE THAT THE SANCTIONS WOULD HAVE BEEN LIFTED. NAJMAN SAID THAT THERE WAS A POSSIBILITY THAT THE EXBD COULD LIFT THE SANCTIONS, BUT MUCH WOULD DEPEND ON THE ATMOSPHERE IN APRIL AND PARTICULARLY WHETHER THERE WAS ALSO PROGRESS ON THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. HE SAID HE WAS KEEPING OPTIONS OPEN RE PROPOSING TO THE EXBD THAT THE SANCTIONS BE LIFTED. WE THEN DISCUSSED THE COMPOSITION OF THE

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NEW BOARD AND AGREED THAT IT WAS PRETTY MUCH AN UNKNOWN
QUANTITY AT PRESENT. THE STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF
THE NEW MEMBERS ARE NOT KNOWN AND THE ABILITY OF THE
NEW LEADERSHIP, PARTICULARLY THE CHAIRMAN, IS UNTESTED.

D. EXTRAORDINARY GENERAL CONFERENCE: NAJMAN SAID THAT
THE DG WILL CALL AN EXTRAORDINARY GEN. CONF. UNLESS
THERE IS INDICATION THAT THE US WILL PAY ITS CONTRI-
BUTION. HE DID NOT SAY WHETHER A PARTIAL PAYMENT WOULD
SUFFICE, BUT HE DID SAY THAT THE DG DOES NOT WANT TO
CALL AN EXTRAORDINARY SESSION IF IT CAN POSSIBLY BE
AVOIDED. NAJMAN SAID THAT THE US WOULD HAVE TO DECIDE
TO BE EITHER IN OR OUT OF UNESCO AND COULD NOT CONTINUE
TO CLAIM MEMBERSHIP WITHOUT PAYING ITS OBLIGATION. HE
SAID THAT IF THERE IS NOT DEFINITE INDICATION THAT THE
US WILL PAY, M'BOW WILL HAVE TO CALL A GEN. CONF. AND
PUT THE ENTIRE MATTER OF US - ISRAEL NON-PAYMENT BEFORE
THE CONFERENCE. HE SAID M'BOW WAS FRANKLY TIRED OF THE
WHOLE ISRAEL MATTER AND WAS NOT DISPOSED TO MAKE ANY
FURTHER SPECIAL EFFORTS TO PLACATE EITHER THE US OR
ISRAEL. HE SAID M'BOW'S POSITION IN AFRICA WAS IN CON-
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SIDERABLE JEOPARDY VIS-A-VIS CERTAIN AFRICAN MEMBER STATES WHO FEEL HE HAS ALREADY BENT MUCH TOO FAR TO US PRESSURES. NAJMAN SAID M'BOW IS "FED UP" WITH WORDS SUCH AS "DE-POLITIZATION" AND THAT HE WILL NOT RESPOND TO FURTHER EFFORTS ALONG THIS LINE. NAJMAN SAID M'BOW FEELS IT IS TIME TO ABANDON USE OF THESE PHRASES WHICH HAVE NOW BECOME PARTICULARLY IDENTIFIED WITH THE ISRAELI PROBLEM. HE SAID, THEY ARE NOW LOOKED UPON NOT AS LEGITIMATE EXPRESSIONS AND THAT M'BOW CANNOT JEOPARDIZE HIMSELF ANY FURTHER. PERMREP RESPONDED THAT NEITHER NAJMAN OR M'BOW CLEARLY UNDERSTAND THE US DOMESTIC SCENE AND THAT THEY MUST UNDERSTAND IT IF THEY ARE TO MAKE RATIONAL JUDGMENTS. PERMREP SAID THAT THERE WERE STRONG FORCES IN US, IN AND OUT OF GOVERNMENT, THAT SINCERELY WANTED TO HELP UNESCO, BUT THEY HAVE TO WORK WITHIN THE REALITIES OF US DOMESTIC POLITICS AND TRADITIONS. POLITIZATION IS A REAL ISSUE IN THE US AND CANNOT BE IGNORED. PERMREP SAID THAT IT WILL NOT GO AWAY SIMPLY BECAUSE IT IS NOT POPULAR ELSEWHERE. NAJMAN SAID THAT M'BOW WAS CONSIDERING SENDING HIM IMMEDIATELY TO THE US TO CONSULT ON THE CONTRIBUTION AND THE POSSIBILITY OF AN EXTRAORDINARY GEN. CONF. PERMREP STRONGLY ADVISED HIM TO WAIT UNTIL THE TRANSITION WAS COMPLETED AND NOT TO MOVE PRECIPITOUSLY. NAJMAN SAID HE WOULD RECOMMEND TO M'BOW THAT HE NOT GO TO THE US UNTIL LATER. PERMREP URGED HIM TO KEEP IN TOUCH WITH US ON ANY PLANS TO VISIT WASHINGTON.

E. TRAVEL PLANS OF M'BOW: NAJMAN SAID M'BOW WILL RETURN TO PARIS ON DEC. 24 FROM IVORY COAST AND NIGER. HE LEAVES FOR ASWAN, EGYPT, FOR VACATION ON THE 26TH AND WILL STAY IN EGYPT UNTIL JAN 6. M'BOW THEN GOES TO ATHENS FOR THE DRIVE TO SAVE THE GREEK RUINS AND RETURNS TO PARIS ON JAN. 11. HE THEN LEAVES FOR LAGOS AND THE WORLD FESTIVAL OF BLACK ARTS ON THE 14TH OF JAN. HE WILL ALSO VISIT GABON AND RETURN TO PARIS ON JAN. 20.
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NAJMAN SAID M'BOW WOULD LIKE TO MEET SECRETARY OF STATE DESIGNATE VANCE AT THE EARLIEST TIME AND HE WOULD ALSO LIKE TO MEET AMBASSADOR DESIGNATE TO THE UN YOUNG. PERMREP SAID THAT HE COULD PROBABLY MEET YOUNG IN NEW YORK IF HE HAD A TRIP SCHEDULED AND THAT WE COULD NOT NOW COMMENT ON THE POSSIBILITIES OF MEETING WITH VANCE. NAJMAN SAID M'BOW HAS NO PLANS TO GO TO NEW YORK PRIOR TO NOVEMBER WHEN THE ACC MEETS, BUT CHANGES IN HIS SCHEDULE ARE ALWAYS POSSIBLE.

F. MASS MEDIA: NAJMAN SAID THEY INTENDED TO KEEP THIS ISSUE AT A LOW KEY THROUGHOUT THE YEAR. HOWEVER, THIS DID NOT MEAN LACK OF MOVEMENT BY UNESCO. HE SAID THAT CURRENT PLANS ARE TO ESTABLISH AN EDGAR FAURE TYPE COMMISSION OF "WISE MEN" TO MAKE PROPOSALS IN THE COMMUNICATIONS FIELD. HE SAID THAT THEY ARE NOW CONSIDERING WHO TO NAME AS CHAIRMAN, BUT NO NAMES HAVE SURFACED AS YET. NAJMAN SAID THE CHAIRMAN MUST BE A PERSON OF UNDISPUTED INTERNATIONAL STATURE WHO CAN TRAVEL THROUGHOUT THE WORLD MEETING WITH KEY PERSONS IN GOVERNMENT AND THE PRIVATE COMMUNICATIONS SECTOR. HE SAID THAT THE MASS MEDIA DECLARATION MAY BE KEPT SEPARATE FROM THE COMMITTEE OF "WISE MEN". THE LATTER PREPARING A STUDY ON THE GENERAL SUBJECT OF GLOBAL COMMUNICATIONS. NAJMAN SAID HE WAS GOING TO PROPOSE TO M'BOW THAT AS FOR THE DECLARATION, ONE EMINENT PERSON BE ASSIGNED THE TASK OF OBTAINING THE VARIOUS VIEWS AND PUTTING

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TOGETHER A DRAFT TEXT. HE INVSIONED THAT THIS PERSON, WHO WOULD BE FROM THE WEST, WOULD TRAVEL TO ALL MAJOR COUNTRIES TO MEET WITH LOCAL PERSONS TO ARRIVE AT LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD SERVE AS THE BASIS FOR A CONSENSUS TEXT. NAJMAN SIAD HE DID NOT CARE IN THE LEAST WHAT THE DECLARATION SAID SO LONG AS IT WAS AGREED TO BY CONSENSUS. ANYTHING OTHER THAN FULL CONSENSUS WOULD BE

MEANINGLESS. NAJMAN SEEMED TO DISCOUNT THE IMPORTANCE OF THE DECLARATION, SAYING THAT HE WAS NOT WORRIED ABOUT M'BOW'S ABILITY TO MANAGE IT SO AS TO ARRIVE AT A FULL CONSENSUS. HE WAS MORE CONCERNED ABOUT THE LONG RANGE ROLE OF UNESCO IN THE COMMUNICATIONS FIELD. HE FORESEES THIS AS PROBABLY THE MOST IMPORTANT UNESCO INVOLVEMENT THROUGHOUT THE REST OF THE CENTURY. NAJMAN SAID HE COULD NOT BELIEVE THAT THE US WOULD NOT WANT TO BE INVOLVED, AND HE EXPECTED THAT PROMINENT US PERSONALITIES IN THE MASS MEDIA WOULD PLAY A MAJOR ROLE. HE DID NOT NAME NAMES, AND SAID THEY WERE OPEN TO SUGGESTIONS. NAJMAN EMPHASIZED THAT HIS IDEAS WERE AT THE FORMATIVE STAGE AND HAD NOT BEEN FULLY DISCUSSED WITH M'BOW, ALTHOUGH HE DID EXPECT THE "WISE MEN" COMMISSION TO BE CONFIDENTIAL

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ACCEPTED. HE EXPECTED IT TO BE FORMED BY THE FIRST PART OF THE NEW YEAR AND CONCURRED TO THE NEED FOR FULL US CONSULTATION AT ALL STAGES. PERM REP AGREED THAT MASS MEDIA WAS AN IMPORTANT ISSUE WHICH HAD LONG RANGE IMPLICATIONS. PERM REP STRESSED THE NEED FOR FULL US CONSULTATION AND PARTICIPATION AT EVERY STAGE AND THE NECESSITY FOR CONTINUING DISCUSSIONS OF ALL PROPOSED PLANS. PERMREP CALLED HIS ATTENTION TO THE PASSAGES OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION RESOLUTION DEALING WITH COMMUNICATIONS AND NAJMAN FELT THEY WERE POSITIVE.

G. OTHER MATTERS: NAJMAN SAID UNESCO INTENDS TO PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN LEBANON. HE SAID THAT UNESCO IS BEING CALLED UPON TO PROVIDE AID TO EDUCATION AND HE EXPECTED TO RESPOND FAVORABLY. HE SAID HE KNOWS OF NO CURRENT UNESCO INVOLVEMENT IN THE RHODESIAN AFFAIR BUT THAT UNESCO'S ROLE IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD ALWAYS MADE SOME ACTION POSSIBLE. HE SAID HE EXPECTS RESOLUTION ON RHODESIA AT THE SPRING BOARD MEETING.

2. COMMENT: NAJMAN SEEMED RELAXED AND CONFIDENT. HE LEFT HIS PASSPORT WITH PERM REP TO GET A NEW US VISA. THIS LEADS US TO BELIEVE HE WANTS TO BE READY TO COME TO THE US ON A MOMENT'S NOTICE SHOULD M'BOW SO DECIDE. NAJMAN STILL APPEARS TO BE THE MAJOR TACTICIAN OF M'BOW AND HIS INFLUENCE SEEMS NOT TO HAVE DIMINISHED. WE RANK HIM SECOND ONLY TO BOSSIER-PALUN AS AN M'BOW ADVISER. HE GAVE NO HINT OF ANY CONTEMPLATED PLANS OTHER THAN TO STAY WITH UNESCO.
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